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15 June 1954

Edited Transcript of Comments Concerning the  
19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party.  
(19th S'ed Vse-Soyuznyy Kommunisticheskiy  
Partii, bolshhevikov).

1. It is common knowledge that the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place before the war in 1939. First discussions of convoking a 19th Congress began to circulate at departmental levels at the end of 1949. Previously, when the Politburo took up the question, STALIN came out against an All-Union Congress in 1948 and 1949, declaring that the circumstances were unsuitable; that, although it might be possible to speak of the Soviet victory in the Second World War and of the expansion of Communist spheres of influence both to the east and west, one had to consider, however, that the principal leading capitalist powers, the USA and Great Britain, had also won the victory and had armed themselves sufficiently to show their strength...not to mention the A-Bomb as demonstrated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Whereupon, at higher Party levels, a rumor was loosed that the Congress would not yet be called because of the fact that an economic crisis would soon develop in the capitalist countries, especially, in the USA. The crisis was daily awaited. At that time, much propagandist material began to appear about the imminent crisis in the capitalist countries in such magazines as "Communist", in political periodicals in general, and in the newspapers. Much was written about this by a

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specialist on economic affairs, the academician VARGA. Events in Yugoslavia also held up the Congress, namely, Tito's tearing himself free from the Soviet Union. Also taken into account were events in Czechoslovakia where unrest was present at all times.

2. The next situation which hindered the Congress was the inception of the Marshall Plan. Plainly speaking, the Marshall Plan smashed all the cards of the Soviet Union and, particularly, those of the Politburo, related to convoking the Congress. The Marshall Plan was a "shot in the arm" (oskoravitel'nyy moment) in the life of Western Europe which, of course, the Soviet Union and, particularly, all the members of the Politburo took note of. When, in 1949, some of the leaders of the Communist Party again placed the matter of the Congress on the agenda, saying that it should be convened in any case, because the members of the Party, that is, the Communists of the Soviet Union had requested it, the Politburo once again expressed the thought that it was necessary to wait somewhat longer until it was seen how events in China should turn out. In 1950, after MAO Tse-tung's victory over CHIANG Kai-shek, it was rumored intensely that the Congress would soon be called and the Politburo even did resolve to convoke it in 1951. But later, the strained condition of world affairs, the situation in Germany and the Korean war again postponed the Congress, because STALIN, awaiting all the while a more favorable moment, objected to its convocation at that time. Finally, a decision was taken in

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February, 1952, to convene the Congress in October of the same year and this was done.

3. I attended the Congress throughout its entire length, that is, from 3 October 1952 to its end. My specific duty as an MGB officer was to guard the Congress along with several hundred others. Perhaps 2000 MGB personnel or more were employed as guards for the Kremlin, the hotels where the Congress delegates were quartered, their places of meeting, etc. Not only was the Guard Directorate (Upravleniye Otdelnyy) mobilized for the Congress but also members of the First Chief Directorate, Second Chief Directorate, Fifth Directorate, Seventh Directorate and other sections, (otdely).

4. I can add nothing more than what has been written in the newspapers concerning the course of the Congress as all the speeches as well as the names of the speakers have been printed. There were a considerable number of guests from almost all the Communist parties of the capitalist countries as well as from those of the Communist bloc, from several socialist parties which had come to present greetings to the Congress and from separate groups of Communists (I mean groups from countries where no Communist Party but only unattached groups exist). There were also individual representatives who came to attend the Congress. Such decisions as were taken at the Congress which did not appear in the papers are not known to me and when the election of the Central Committee took place, no one from the guard was present as it was done behind closed doors.

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I have to call attention to the fact that all elections of the Central Committee were accomplished in one and a half hours. That is, a list was read of those candidates whom the Politburo considered suitable and necessary (neobkhodimyye), and candidates for the CC are always elected by unanimous vote and there is never any objection to the nominations put forth.

5. I want to continue by giving certain background material on those members of the CC who were elected at the 19th Party Congress. I shall name and give the backgrounds of only those individuals who are more or less known to me, some by their duties alone and several, in more detail.

- a) ANDREYEV, Andrey Andreyevich, former member of the Politburo, Central Committee, All-Union Communist Party, (bolsheviks), chairman of the Kolkhos Committee of the Council of Ministers (Sovet Ministrov) and, up to the 19th Party Congress, chairman of the Commission of Party Control, (Komisiya Partiy'nogo Kontrol'a), of CC/CPSU. At the 19th Congress he sat in the presidium but gave no speech as he was sick at the time, being so blind that he was totally unable to see. He is a member of the CC, recognized only for his merit as a former member of the Politburo and takes no part in the present day political life of the country. True, he was elected a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Verkhovnyy Sovet) but almost never attends the meetings in as much as he must be accompanied at all times.

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- b) AMERIANOV, former Secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee. At present has been relieved of these duties but his whereabouts are unknown to me.
- c) BELYAYEV, Secretary of the Altai Kray Party Committee; I know him personally; he enjoys the confidence of MALENKOV.
- d) BERNIKOV, at present Minister of Agriculture, he has held this position for some years. He was once sent as Ambassador to India but, for some reason, was quickly recalled.
- e) BERIYA, of whom we have already spoken.
- f) BRYUKHEV, Minister of Railway Transport.
- g) VASILYEVSKIY, Marshal, at the present time, Deputy Minister of Defense.
- h) VORONOV, Marshal of Artillery, Commander-in-Chief (Glavnyy Komanduyushchyy) of Artillery, Soviet Army.
- i) DENISOV, Chairman of the Society of Cultural Ties Abroad (Obshchestvo Kulturnykh Svyazey za granitsy), FORE,
- j) ZHDANOV, Yuri Aleksandrovich<sup>(sic)</sup>, philosopher, son of the deceased member of the Politburo, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich ZHDANOV [sic]. After the death of his father, he married STALIN's daughter, Svetlana, and published a series of articles of a philosophic content in books and newspapers. However, he was strongly censured for one article and at the present time works in Rostov. After STALIN's death he was divorced from Svetlana and I cannot say exactly where he is located.

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- k) IGHEAT'YEV, about whom much has been written; he is well known.
- l) KAPITONOV, former Secretary of Kiev City Party Committee. When <sup>H</sup>KRUSHCHEV came from the Ukraine to work in Moscow he brought KAPITONOV along with him. He was first named Second Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee and, at present, has replaced MIKHAYLOV as Secretary of the Moscow Committee, CPSU.
- m) KOVRIGINA, Minister of Public Health.
- n) KOSLOV, at present Minister of Sovkhoses.
- o) KONEV, Marshal, who until a short time ago was Commander-in-Chief of Ground Forces but was recently sent to the city of Lvov as Commander of the Carpathian (Priкарпатський) Military District (Okrug).
- p) KOSHEVICHUK, Aleksandr, writer, lives in Kiev.
- q) KOROCHENKO, works in the Ukraine.
- r) KRUGLOV, Minister of Internal Affairs.
- s) KUZNETSOV, Nikolay Gerasimovich, at the present time, Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces (Voyenno-morskoye Sily) of the USSR, Ministry of Defense. In 1949, he was under investigation by the Party, why, I don't exactly know, but he was charged with wasting governmental funds and with poor management of the <sup>FOREIGN</sup> <sup>LIBISON</sup> External Relations Section (Obdel Vneshnikh Sotsheniy) of the former Ministry of the Navy. He had the title of Admiral of the Fleet (Admiral Flota),

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and in 1949 was named to the post of Chief of the Naval Schools, (Nachal'nik Voenno-Morskikh Uchebnykh Zavedeniy) in the city of Leningrad. Admiral YUMASHEV was named, in his place, as Minister of the Navy. Now KURNETSOV has been promoted to the rank of Vice Admiral and is Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces of the Soviet Union.

- t) MALYSHEV, at present Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, USSR and Minister of Heavy Machine Building or Ferrous Metallurgy.
- u) MERKLIS, Lev Zakharovich, enjoyed STALIN's great confidence as he was a participant in the civil war. Up to 1940, Chief of the Central Political Directorate of the Red Army. During the war he was a Major General (General Leytenant) and member of the Military Council (Voyennyi Sovet). He was relieved after the fall of Rostov. His whereabouts for a time afterwards are not known but he was then appointed Minister of State Control (Gosudarstvennyy Kontrol'). Later he became very ill and MERKULOV was named in his place. Suspicion and distrust fell on MERKULOV. When he was named Minister of State Control he went to see MERKLIS when the latter was in the hospital. MERKLIS became angry, shook his fist at him and said for him to leave. Now MERKLIS is deceased. He was Jewish by nationality.

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- v) MIKHAYLOV N. A. former Secretary of the Central Committee CPSU and afterwards, Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee and, at present, Ambassador to Warsaw.
- w) PANKRATOVA, Doctor of Historical Sciences, author of a textbook on the history of the USSR for the secondary schools.
- x) PATOLICHEV, history has it that at the time of STALIN's defense of Tsaritsyn, his deputy was a certain PATOLICHEV, the father of the present PATOLICHEV. He was mortally wounded and, before his death, asked STALIN to help in raising his son. STALIN attended to this nearly all his life with the result that PATOLICHEV completed a higher school of learning, the Academy of General Sciences, was Secretary of one of the oblast Party committees and then became Secretary of the TsK(VKP(b). He was then appointed Secretary of the Rostov Oblast Party Committee, and, from Rostov, was made Secretary of the CC of the Party in Belorussiya.
- y) PONOMARENKO, well known.
- z) POSHKREBYCHEV, Brigadier General, (General Mayor) personal Secretary to STALIN for 30 years.
- aa) POPELOV, communist theorist, present Secretary of the CC/CPSU, was once the chief editor of the newspaper, Pravda.

(Translator's note: Subject used the word Party. However, he possibly made a mistake as Subject served as the Secretary of the Komzol, CC before he became Party Secretary).



bb) RUMYANTSEV, there is a short story concerning him.

When KHRUSHCHEV came from the Ukraine, RUMYANTSEV was Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee. According to the facts I have, RUMYANTSEV did not have an exactly spotless life, that is, it had been full of arrests for undesirable connections with certain women. The result was that he fell under the suspicion of the MGB for a liaison (svyaz') which he had with a woman who was, herself suspected of contacts (svyaz') with American Intelligence. The woman lived in the Taganka, now the Zhdanovskiy rayon, and, when it was ascertained that RUMYANTSEV had ties with this woman and that these ties were not desirable, she was reported to KHRUSHCHEV.

KHRUSHCHEV called in RUMYANTSEV for a talk and asked him how his family life was and how he was getting on, etc., was he not deviating from his purpose (otvrachivat' na levo), and so forth. RUMYANTSEV replied, "Come on Nikita Sergeyevich, don't you know I'm busy and have a lot of work!" and so on. And with that the conversation ended. RUMYANTSEV did not draw the necessary conclusion (dolzhen vyvod) and continued to visit the woman. However he stopped driving to her lodgings in his car but, instead, left it elsewhere and visited her, nonetheless. He was again spotted by the agents of the MGB [sic] and again reported to KHRUSHCHEV, RUMYANTSEV was again summoned for

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a talk by KHRUSHCHEV and was asked if he had any "dark" connections, (temnyye svyazy), etc. RUMYANTSEV denied all this. He was then brought before the Moscow Party Committee, was dismissed from his job and placed at the disposal of the Personnel Section (Otdel Kadrov) of the CC for another assignment. He was assigned as First Secretary of one of the Oblast Party Committees of the Soviet Union. However, he refused this job and KHRUSHCHEV then declared that as long as he had refused he could go and find work for himself. In this way, he landed in a pitfall from which he can no longer retrieve himself.

- cc) SAEUROV, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the State Planning <sup>COMMISSION</sup> Committee (Gosudarstvennyy Plan), USSR. How he attained this position is unknown. However, he is an intelligent, educated man but cannot make a good speech and obtains no popular esteem from the Soviet people.
  - dd) SOKOLOVSKIY Marshal, Deputy Minister of Defense.
  - ee) BUSLOV, Secretary of the CC/CPSU, Chief of the Liaison Section for Communist Parties abroad. (Otdel po Svyazis Zarubezhnyai Kommunisticheskim Partiyami)
  - ff) PABEYEV, writer, Secretary of the Union of Soviet Authors.
- I have to state that he is an intelligent man; my wife

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worked as FADYEV's stenographer for a short time after finishing a stenographer's course in Moscow. She told me that he had an addiction to alcohol, sometimes drank heavily, and, for two or three months, did absolutely nothing and was drunk all the time. However, in his drunken condition, he was capable of writing books and articles.

- gg) SHELEPIN, at present Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol.
- hh) SEVERNIK, Nikolay Mikhaylovich, I became personally well acquainted with him during his stay in Vienna at the World Congress of Trade Unions. I accompanied him constantly around Vienna, went on all his excursions and walks and went with him to all places.
- ii) SHEPILOV, Major General (General Leytenant), works in the Central Committee of the Party, I think in the Directorate for Agitation and Propaganda.
- jj) YUSUPOV Usman, former Secretary of the CC/CP of Uzbekistan; at the time of the Congress was Minister of Cotton Growing.
- kk) YAKOV, Chairman of the Moscow City Council (Gorsovet)
- 6. The candidate members of the CC/CPSU: (Chleny Kandidaty)
  - a) ALEXANDROV, G. F., Jew by nationality [sic] Doctor of Philosophy, once was Chief of the Directorate for Agitation and Propaganda of the CC of the Party, and wrote a book

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on Western European philosophy while in this position.

For certain incorrect conclusions, the book was confiscated,

ALEKSANDROV was removed from his post in the Central

Committee and recently became the Director of the

Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences

of the USSR. At present, he is Minister of Culture of

the Soviet Union.

- b) **ARTYOM'YEV**, Colonel General, Commander of the Moscow Military District. Participated in operations with **BERIYA** and was arrested after **BERIYA**. Where he is at present I do not know, but he probably has been executed, ("sent off to paradise", otpravlen na tot svet).

c) **BAGRATYAN**, General.

d) **BASISTY**, Major General, (General Leytenant).

e) **VERSHININ**, Air Marshal, at present, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Army Air Force.

f) **GOGLIDZE**, Colonel General, executed along with **BERIYA**, MVD official.

g) **GORSHEVIN**, Former Minister of Justice, at present the Prosecutor-General of the Soviet Union.

h) **GRIGORYAN**, Gramika, well known.

i) **YEFISEV**, A short biography of this individual:

Many years ago he was a worker in one of the factories in Kharkov. Later he completed the Party school and rose to the rank of Secretary of the Party Committee of the

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Kharkov Tractor Factory. He was then mobilized into the army where he served in a leader's capacity. Before World War II he was Secretary of the Kharkov Oblast Party Committee. During the war, attained the rank of General, was a political worker (politrabotnik), and was a member of the Military Council of one of the Military Districts. After the war he was assigned to work on the Party Central Committee and was later made Secretary of the Odessa Oblast Party Committee. In 1949 after the Deputy Minister of the MGB, SVINELIPOV, was removed from his position, YEPISHEV was named Deputy Minister of the MGB for Personnel by the Central Committee of the Party. He remained approximately one year at this work and was removed from his position for incompetence. Where he is located at the present time I do not know.

- 1) ZHAVRONEKOV, former Minister of Internal Trade.
- j) ZHIGAREV, Marshal or General of the Army. Aviator.
- k) ZHIDMERIN, Minister of Electric Power Stations.
- l) ZHUKOV, Georgiy Konstantinovich, Marshal, well known.
- m) ZARUBIN and IL'YICHEV, work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- n) KAIROV, former Minister of Education, RSFSR.
- o) KOSHLOV, Bogdan Zakharovich, Colonel General, former Deputy of BERIYA, was executed.

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- p) KUMYKIN, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade.
- q) MALINOVSKY, Marshal
- r) MALININ, General
- s) MASLENNIKOV, I. I., General of the Army, Commander of Internal and Border Troops of the MVD, USSR.
- t) MERETSKOV, Marshal
- u) MERKULOV, General of the Army, former Minister of State Control, and Minister of State Security, has been executed.
- v) OSTROVITYANOV, economist, academician.
- w) PANYUSHKIN, Aleksandr Semenovich, Present Chief of the SCD, MVD, USSR.
- x) POMAZNEV, former Administrative Officer (Upravlyayushchiy Delami) of the Council of Ministers, USSR. STALIN removed him because of his love affairs.
- y) POPOV, Georgiy Mikhaylovich, former Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, and also Secretary of the CC/CP. In 1950 was under suspicion of the MGB, because of many affairs with women, going off to his dacha frequently, etc. For this, he was removed as Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee and from the CC/CP and was, at first, named Minister of Town Construction then, Chairman of the Committee of Town Construction; and later, Minister of Agricultural Machine Building. He was removed from this position and sent to Kuibyshev as a plant manager, After the death of STALIN and, then, after the fall of BERIYA,

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he was promoted and sent to Warsaw as ambassador but was recalled.. What he is doing at present I do not know.

- z) RYASHOV, Vasily Semenovich, or Vladimir Semenovich, Major General (General Leytenant), MVD. When the MVD-MIB, existed, he was Deputy to KRUZLOV and after the death of BEALIN, was appointed Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, under HEBIYA and, within a week, was named Chief of the 2nd Chief Directorate of the MVD, USSR, the intelligence Directorate in which I worked. After a month at this work, he was removed and named to the post of Chief of the MVD Directorate of the City of Moscow and the Moscow Oblast. He was at this position in September 1953. What he is doing at present I do not know. A former party worker, he has limited intelligence, operationally speaking.
- aa) <sup>E</sup>SHENOV, Konstantin, poet.
- bb) SHILOV, up to 1951 was the 2nd Secretary of the Altai Krai Party Committee; in 1953 worked as Secretary of the Ulyanov Oblast Party Committee.
- cc) STOLETOV, academician.
- dd) TIDGHEZHO, Marshal
- ee) TOKA, Solchak, Little known writer, has written one book; he is the Secretary of the Oblast Party Committee of the Tavinskaya Autonomous Oblast.

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ff) **TUMANOVA, Zoya**, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol for Pioneer work.

gg) **FURTSEVA**, Second Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee

hh) **KHOKHELOV**, Chairman of Cooperative Societies of the USSR. (Tsentrosoyuz USSR)

ii) **CHUTKOV Vasil'y** Ivanovich, well known.

jj) **SHATALIN**, Secretary of the CC, was promoted thanks to **KHROUSHCHEV** and **MALENKOV**; Participated in the arrest of **KABULOV** and after the arrest of **BERIYA** became Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs for two or three months. Until recently worked as Secretary of the CC/CP and directed the punitive agencies (karatelnyye organy) (Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice, and the Prokuratura.)

kk) **SHASHKOV**, Minister of Water Transport.

ll) **SHUMENKO**, General, works in the Ministry of Defense.

At present, he is not heard of and I think that he possibly became inactive.

mm) **YUDIN Pavel**, well known.

nn) **YUMASHEV**, former Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces, USSR; why he was relieved I cannot say.

7. The Central Revisionary Commission (Tsentral'naya Revizionnaya Komissiya) elected at the 19th Congress:



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- a) GORKIN, at present, Deputy Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.
- b) POUTSEROB, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, at present Ambassador to Turkey.
- c) SURKOV, poet, Chairman of the Directorate of the Union of Soviet Authors.
- d) TVARDOVSKIY, poet.
- e) TRETYAKOVA, former Deputy Minister of Public Health, USSR, where she works at present, unknown.

8. The delegates to the Congress stayed at the Hotel Moscow and other hotels in the city of Moscow. Each was accorded a book of tickets with which they could take their meals in the Moscow restaurant without paying. I was asked a question concerning how the preparations for congress, were accomplished and by whom. It is difficult for me to talk about this since it is such a general question. The decision of the CC/CP was handed down to the Oblast Party Committees who in their turn sent it out to the Rayon Party Committees; from the Rayon Committees it was sent on down to the different Party organizations. In this way it was announced to all the members of the party when the 19th Congress would convene. Then came the elections of the delegates to the 19th Congress according to the existing Communist pattern; whoever is put forth is elected, and there are never any objections. There was no kind of clash at the Congress, political maneuvering or quarrels between individual delegates, etc. Everyone extended greetings only

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to STALIN and members of the CC/CP. One item of significance at the 19th Congress is noted in that it became more obvious and clear that STALIN's successor would be MALENKOV. STALIN went up to MALENKOV several times but MALENKOV sat and never rose but simply indicated with his hand that everything was understood by or clear to him and that he himself knew what it was necessary for him to do. Thus the delegates assumed that MALENKOV was not obsequious toward STALIN for some reason. As to the results of the Congress, it of course played its propagandistic role. After the Congress there began a study of the materials of the Congress, and a lot of talk about the victory won by the USSR in the Second World War, of communism's spread, and so forth.

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